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### Planning for pilgrims

**Citation for published version:**

Campbell, I 2013, 'Planning for pilgrims: St Andrews as the Second Rome', *The Innes Review*, vol. 64, no. 1, pp. 1-22. <https://doi.org/10.3366/inr.2013.0045>

**Digital Object Identifier (DOI):**

[10.3366/inr.2013.0045](https://doi.org/10.3366/inr.2013.0045)

**Link:**

[Link to publication record in Edinburgh Research Explorer](#)

**Document Version:**

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

**Published In:**

The Innes Review

**Publisher Rights Statement:**

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*Ian Campbell*

## Planning for pilgrims: St Andrews as the second Rome

**Abstract:** The planning of the burgh of St Andrews, founded in the twelfth century, with two major streets converging on the cathedral, resembles that of the Vatican Borgo, created in the ninth century. It is proposed that St Andrews was consciously modelled on the Borgo, and that the major dimensions of the cathedral are taken from Old St Peter's and St John Lateran, as part of an unsuccessful campaign to have St Andrews recognised as an apostolic see like its rival Compostela, the only other shrine in western Europe beyond Italy to claim the relics of an apostle.

**Key words:** St Andrews; Compostela; pilgrim management; Rome; town planning

In 2005, at the Scottish Catholic Historical Association's conference on pilgrimage, I presented the first version of the present article. I speculated then that parallels in the plans of medieval St Andrews and of the Vatican Borgo were not coincidental, and that the reason for this may have been the presence at St Andrews of the relics of the apostle himself. My argument was largely based on visual similarity, with no convincing evidence to suggest that anyone in twelfth-century Scotland had knowledge of, let alone interest in the Borgo. The feedback following the lecture was useful in encouraging me to widen the scope of my investigation to include the cathedral as well as the burgh, and to look at Compostela for comparative evidence. These suggestions allowed me to firm-up my speculation to argue that both the plan of the town and the dimensions of the cathedral evoke *Romanitas*. It has been argued that St Andrews – as cathedral and burgh – was planned as 'a single grandiose conception'; but even if that were not the case, the arguments for each element can still stand alone.<sup>1</sup> I will begin by discussing the burgh plan, then the cathedral, and finally the comparisons with Compostela.

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<sup>1</sup> N. P. Brooks and G. Whittington, 'Planning and growth in the medieval Scottish burgh: the example of St Andrews', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, new ser. 2 (1977), 278–95, at 291.

*The Vatican Borgo and the Burgh of St Andrews*

The works of Enrico Guidoni and Keith Lilley have demonstrated beyond doubt the role of symbolism in the planning of medieval towns in Europe.<sup>2</sup> Neither, however, has explored the influence of the Vatican Borgo as a model.<sup>3</sup> It has been argued elsewhere that the general similarities between the plan of the twin burghs of Edinburgh and the Canongate, and the plan of the Borgo, both long, thin settlements, aligned east–west with a castle at one end and a church-palace complex at the other, may be more than coincidental.<sup>4</sup> In some ways, that is an easier case to make than the present one, which has been inspired by looking at the famous plan of St Andrews attributed to John Geddy (fl. 1571–1594).<sup>5</sup> Dated to around 1580, Geddy's plan shows the burgh at the height of its glory, probably just before the Scottish Reformation (1560), with three major main streets, North Street, Market Street, and South Street, aligned on the cathedral at its east end (Fig. 1). This plan is strongly reminiscent of the Vatican Borgo, with its three principal streets, the Via della Conciliazione, flanked by the Borgo Santo Spirito to the south, and Borgo Sant'Angelo to the north, leading from the Tiber towards St Peter's and the Vatican Palace. Of course, such a resemblance is partly coincidental, since the Via della Conciliazione was only created after the 1929 Concordat between the Papacy and the kingdom of Italy, and the Geddy plan of the burgh of St Andrews gives the misleading impression that the three main streets run in parallel and are of equal size and importance, whereas they are actually convergent, and Market Street in the middle peters out towards the east (Fig. 2). Nevertheless, the observation proved intriguing enough to merit further investigation into the origins of the two settlements, which

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<sup>2</sup> For example, Enrico Guidoni, *La città europea: formazione e significato dal iv all' xi secolo* (Milan, 1978); Keith D. Lilley, 'Cities of God? Medieval urban forms and their Christian symbolism', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, new ser. 29 (2004), 296–313; Keith D. Lilley, *City and Cosmos: The Medieval World in Urban Form* (London, 2009).

<sup>3</sup> Giada Lepri, *L'urbanistica di Borgo e Vaticano nel Medioevo* (Rome, 2004), 57–8, discusses the significance of the three gates of the Borgo and points to other towns with three gates, such as Cortona, but does not suggest the latter copies the former.

<sup>4</sup> Ian Campbell, 'James IV and Edinburgh's first triumphal arches', in *The Architecture of Scottish Cities. Essays in Honour of David Walker*, ed. Deborah Mays (East Linton, 1997), 26–33; Ian Campbell and Margaret Stewart, 'The evolution of the medieval and Renaissance city', in *Edinburgh: The Making of a Capital City*, ed. Brian Edwards and Paul Jenkins (Edinburgh, 2005), 21–40.

<sup>5</sup> On the plan, see Brooks and Whittington, 'Planning and growth', at 279–84; for more on Geddy, see John di Folco, 'The mysterious Mr John Geddy', *History Scotland* 11:4 (July/August 2011), 47–9.

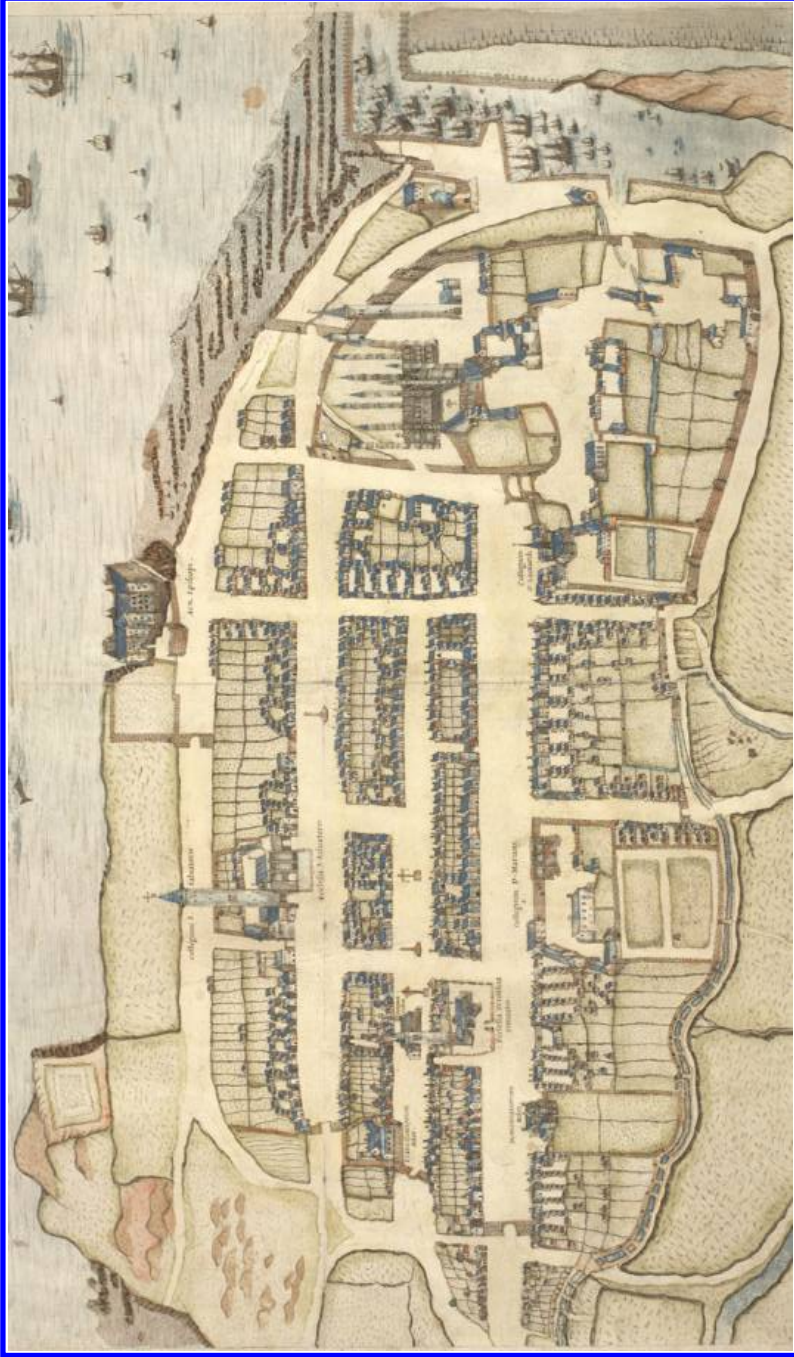


Fig. 1 John Geddy, plan of St Andrews c.1580 (Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS Acc. 2887): reproduced by permission of the National Library of Scotland.

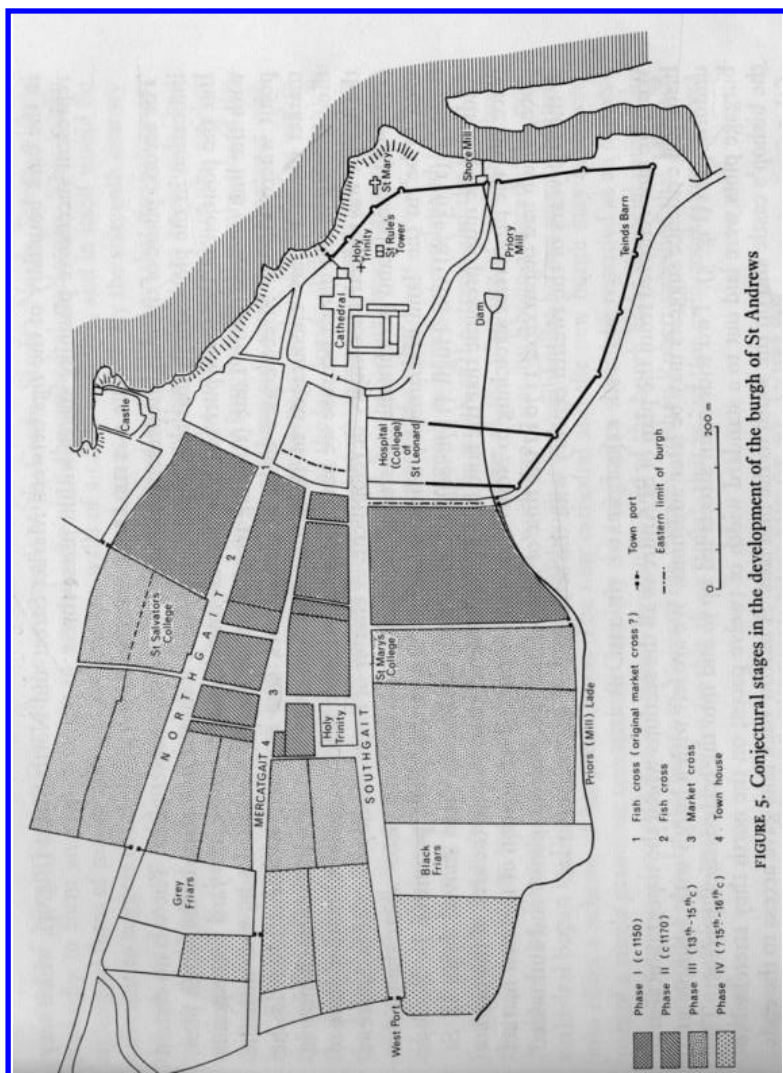


Fig. 2 Development of the burgh of St Andrews (Brookes and Whittington, 'Planning and growth', figure 5, p. 289)



owe their existence to the shrines of the two brothers, Saint Peter and Saint Andrew.

The form of the Vatican Borgo is largely accidental, being precipitated by the sack of St Peter's Basilica by the Saracens in 846. The emperor Lothar (817–855) immediately ordered the building of a circuit of defensive walls round St Peter's, which was erected between 848 and 852, during the pontificate of Leo IV (847–855).<sup>6</sup> The walls ran around the basilica and its ancillary buildings and extended in two parallel tracts eastwards towards the river Tiber.<sup>7</sup> The northern stretch, still largely extant, runs as far as the second-century AD Mausoleum of the emperor Hadrian, which had been converted into a fortress during late antiquity and renamed as Castel Sant'Angelo.<sup>8</sup> The fortified Vatican complex was from the beginning regarded as a new town, the Christian *Civitas leoniana*, the Leonine City, distinct from the old pagan *urbs*, Rome proper over the Tiber.<sup>9</sup> An inscription over one of the gates in the walls called the Leonine City the *Arx poli*, the 'Fortress of Heaven'.<sup>10</sup>

Within its walls three roads ran east-west, two major, one minor. The first was the *Porticus* or *Portica Sancti Petri*, beginning and ending with an arch, which ran from the *Pons Aelii* (the bridge built in front of Hadrian's mausoleum, now the Ponte S. Angelo) to St Peter's, which was the principal route for pilgrims coming from the city across the Tiber.<sup>11</sup> It almost certainly followed the course of an earlier Roman road, running from the mausoleum, which became the major crossing point from the Campus Martius to the Vatican after the collapse of the Bridge of Nero, probably before the middle of the fourth

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<sup>6</sup> Sheila Gibson and Bryan Ward-Perkins, 'The surviving remains of the Leonine wall', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 47 (1979), 30–57, at 31–3; *Le Liber Pontificalis. Texte, introduction et commentaire*, ed. Louis Duchesne, 2nd edn with additions, 3 vols (Paris, 1955–7), iii, 123–5.

<sup>7</sup> See the excellent plan in Gabriella Villetti, 'Architetture di Borgo nel Medioevo', in *L'Architettura della Basilica di San Pietro: storia e costruzione*, ed. Gianfranco Spagnesi (Rome, 1997), 73–90, at 75, fig. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Amanda Claridge, *Rome: An Oxford Archaeological Guide*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 2010), 410–15.

<sup>9</sup> Lepri, *L'urbanistica di Borgo*, 57–8; see also Richard Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312–1308* (Princeton, 1980), 364 (note to 264).

<sup>10</sup> Adriano Prandi, 'Precisazioni e novità sulla civitas leoniana', in *Miscellanea di studi storici: per le nozze di Gianni Jacovelli e Vita Castano, Massafra, VII-IV-MCMLXIX* (Fasano, 1969), 107–29, at 116–17.

<sup>11</sup> Louis Reekmans, 'Le développement topographique de la région du Vatican à la fin de l'antiquité et au début du Moyen Âge (300–850)', in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art, offerts au Professeur Jacques Lavalleye* (Louvain, 1970), 197–235, at 206–7.

century AD.<sup>12</sup> Its exact course is not certain.<sup>13</sup> What form the *porticus* originally took is a matter of conjecture, but by the twelfth century any unified structure is likely to have been replaced by a chain of contiguous colonnades or arcades of individual buildings lining the street, giving shelter to pedestrians, similar to those surviving in Campus Martius on the other side of the Tiber and common throughout central and northern Italy.<sup>14</sup>

The second street, the *Vicus Saxonum*, followed the general line of the present Borgo Santo Spirito, branching off left shortly after the start of the the Porticus/Portica S. Petri, and running parallel to the south side of St Peter's and beyond over the hill. It takes its name from the settlement of Anglo-Saxons in the area, already recorded during the reign of Pope John VII (705–707) before the reputed foundation of the earliest pilgrims' hostel in Rome by Ine, former king of the West Saxons, in 727: this was the supposed precursor of the hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia, from which the name of the present street derives.<sup>15</sup> The area is first referred to as *burgus* (a word of Germanic origin) during the reign of Pope Paschal I (817–824), and later became the common name for the whole of the 'Leonine City'.<sup>16</sup> Hostels for Frisians and Franks were later established to the west, along the same route, which was almost certainly another tract of Roman road, probably originally leading from the bridge of Nero.<sup>17</sup>

The third minor road crossed the northern part of the Borgo, but exact details are hard to ascertain.<sup>18</sup> It probably started near the

<sup>12</sup> Paolo Liverani, 'Pons Neronianus', in *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae*, ed. Margarethe Steinby, 6 vols (Rome, 1993–2000), iv, 111; Reekmans, 'Le développement', 202. Several Roman roads are known to have run through the Vatican area, including the *viae* Cornelia, Triumphalis and Aurelia and Aurelia Nova, but linking particular names to surviving tracts is largely conjectural: see Nevio Degrassi, 'La datazione e il percorso della via Aurelia e la via Aurelia Nova nella zona de Vaticano', *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 61 (1988–89), 309–42.

<sup>13</sup> Lepri, *L'urbanistica di Borgo*, 20.

<sup>14</sup> Reekmans, 'Développement', 207; Carlo Cecchelli, 'Roma medioevale', in Ferdinando Castagnoli *et al.*, *Topografia e urbanistica di Roma*, Storia di Roma 22 (Bologna, 1958), 189–34, at 241.

<sup>15</sup> In the thirteenth century, Matthew Paris related the story of how Ine built a *domus* to be called the *schola Anglorum* (*Chronica Maiora*, s.a. 727, ed. H. R. Luard, Rolls Series 27, 7 vols [London, 1872–84], i, 330–1); see also G. J. Hoogewerff, 'Friezen, Franken en Saksen te Rome', *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome* 25 (1947), 1–70, at 5–10.

<sup>16</sup> *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, ii, 53–4; Lepri, *L'urbanistica di Borgo*, 28.

<sup>17</sup> Reekmans, 'Le développement', 201; Hoogewerff, 'Friezen, Franken en Saksen', 4–5.

<sup>18</sup> Rossella Motta, 'La topografia della Civitas Leoniana fra IX e XIV secolo: note sull'assetto viario e l'edilizia abitativa', in *Saggi sulla storia del Borgo Vaticano in*

north-west corner of the Mausoleum of Hadrian and followed the line of the later Borgo S. Angelo, running close to the line of the northern tract of the Leonine wall. There is reference to a *Via Hadriani* in the area, a name which probably refers to Pope Hadrian I (772–795), an indefatigable builder, although there is no specific mention of the road in the account of his works in the *Liber Pontificalis* (the collection of papal biographies compiled from the sixth century onwards).<sup>19</sup> The original goal was probably the complex of buildings which included the northern of the two papal residences originally built by Pope Symmachus (498–514) flanking St Peter's, which became the nucleus of the future Vatican Palace.<sup>20</sup> The paucity of references to it during the middle ages implies that the road was always of lesser importance than the other two and had fallen into disuse at an early date. Only in the fifteenth century, when the Vatican palace was finally established as the principal seat of the papacy, did the need arise for restoring a northern route. In the programme of Pope Nicholas V (1447–1455) for renewing the Borgo, three straight arcaded or colonnaded streets were envisaged, running in parallel from a new public square at Castel S. Angelo to the enlarged square in front of St Peter's and the palace.<sup>21</sup> The new Via Alessandrina, created by Pope Alexander VI (1492–1503) in time for the influx of pilgrims during the Jubilee or Holy Year of 1500, can be seen as the restoration of this northern link, providing a direct and quieter route to the palace than the two alternatives; but it did not follow for the most part any existing road.<sup>22</sup>

The development of St Andrews, meanwhile, falls into two discrete phases. The earliest reference to an important Pictish royal monastery in the vicinity, called Kinrimumd (Cennrígmonaid), is in 747.<sup>23</sup> Burial remains, excavated on the headland above the present

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*Roma*, ed. Ebe Giacometti (Rome, 1992), 87–100, at 91; see also *Roma: le trasformazioni urbane nel Quattrocento*, ed. Giorgio Simoncini, 2 vols (Florence, 2004), i, 19.

<sup>19</sup> *Roma*, ed. Simoncini, i, 270; *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, i, 486–523. There is also a possibility that it refers to a road named after the emperor; a third-century AD Greek inscription from Ankara mentions the *viae Antoniana, Aureliana, Hadriana* and *Traiana* in Rome, all otherwise unknown; see M. Grazia Granino Cecere, 'Antoniniana via', in *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae: Suburbium*, ed. Adriano La Regina, 6 vols (Rome, 2001–8), i, 75–6.

<sup>20</sup> *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, i, 262.

<sup>21</sup> Christine Smith and Joseph F. O'Connor, *Building the Kingdom: Giannozzo Manetti on the Material and Spiritual Edifice* (Tempe, AZ, 2006), 390.

<sup>22</sup> *Roma*, ed. Simoncini, i, 226–9.

<sup>23</sup> Under the year 747 the Annals of Tigernach record 'the death of Túathalán, abbot of Cennrígmonaid' (ed. Whitley Stokes, *Revue Celtique* 17 (1896), 119–263, at 249); see also Marjorie O. Anderson, 'The Celtic Church in Kinrimumd', *IR* 25 (1974), 67–76.



harbour, suggest a Christian presence back to the fifth century.<sup>24</sup> The place grew in prestige, and by the tenth century it was the seat of the principal bishop of Scotland. Like other ecclesiastical sites in early medieval North Britain and Ireland (Whithorn and Armagh in particular), there is likely to have been a lay settlement outside the ecclesiastical precincts (Fig. 3).<sup>25</sup>

The second phase was the founding of the burgh named St Andrews by Bishop Robert, around 1140, during the reign of King David I. The new burgh was laid out by Mainard the Fleming, who had already performed the same task for Berwick-upon-Tweed.<sup>26</sup> The vast majority of burghs were established as single-street plans, although some, like Edinburgh, acquired parallel streets later (in Edinburgh's case the Cowgate), when the burgage plots in the original high street were all filled. Perth, second only in status to Edinburgh, had two principal parallel streets already in the twelfth century, but it is now thought that the High Street dates from the first founding of the burgh by David I before 1127, while South Street was laid out in a major expansion by William the Lion, which a charter would date to 1178 × 1195.<sup>27</sup>

St Andrews would be unique in Scotland if it had been planned with three streets from the very beginning. However, Brooks and Whittington demonstrated convincingly that Market Street in the

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<sup>24</sup> Derek W. Hall. 'Pre-burghal St Andrews. Towards an archaeological research design', *Tayside and Fife Archaeological Journal*, 1 (1995), 23–7; Jonathan Wordsworth and Peter R. Clark, 'Kirkhill', in *Excavations in St Andrews 1980–89: A Decade of Archaeology in a Historic Scottish Burgh*, ed. M. J. Rains and Derek W. Hall (Glenrothes, 1997), 7–18. For further discussion of the archaeology and layout of Kinrinvie, see Leslie Alcock, *Kings and Warriors, Craftsmen and Priests in Northern Britain AD 550–850* (Edinburgh, 2003), 225–9.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 228.

<sup>26</sup> Bishop Robert's charter of foundation for the burgh is printed with a translation in Simon Taylor (with Gilbert Márkus), *The Place-Names of Fife, Volume Three. St Andrews and the East Neuk* (Donington, 2009), 430, n.78 (text) and 429–30 (translation); for the date of the foundation, see A. A. M. Duncan, 'The Foundation of St Andrews Cathedral Priory, 1140', *Scottish Historical Review* 84 (2005), 1–37, esp. 22–3; also Brooks and Whittington, 'Planning and growth', 290; Richard Oram, *Domination and Lordship in Scotland 1070–1230* (Edinburgh, 2011), 275–6.

<sup>27</sup> For King William's charter, *The Acts of William I King of Scots 1165–1214*, ed. G. W. S. Barrow (with W. W. Scott), *Regesta Regum Scottorum* 2 (Edinburgh, 1971), no. 278; a charter of King David I, issued before July 1127, refers to the burgh of Perth (*The Charters of King David I. The Written Acts of David I King of Scots, 1124–53 and of his Son Henry Earl of Northumberland, 1139–52*, ed. G. W. S. Barrow (Woodbridge, 1999), no. 19); see Jeremy W. R. Whitehand and Khan Alauddin, 'The town plans of Scotland: some preliminary considerations', *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 85 (1969), 109–21, at 111–17; David P. Bowler, *Perth: The Archaeology and Development of a Scottish Burgh* (Perth, 2004), 21, 25–9.

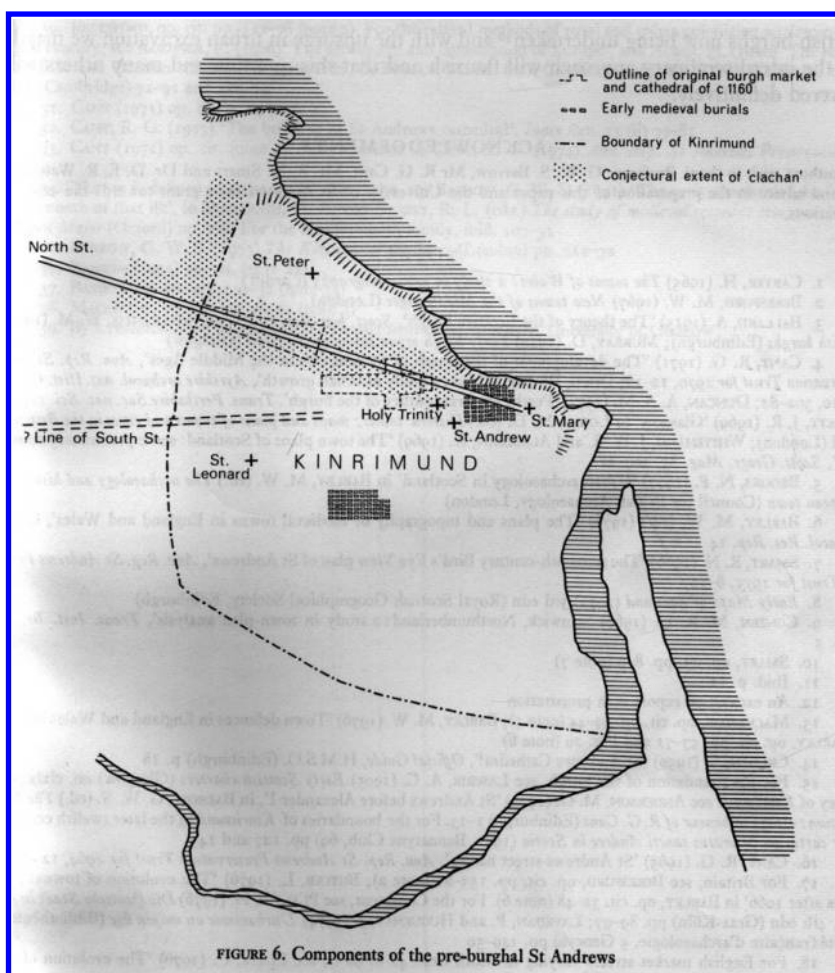


Fig. 3 Pre-burghal Kinrimund – St Andrews (Brookes and Whittington, 'Planning and growth', figure 6, p. 29)

middle represents a change to the original plan. They point out that it is much narrower at its eastern end, varying between 4.6 and 6.7 m, barely wider than some of the minor north–south cross wynds. Its maximum width (27 m) is in the market place, which was established further to the west in the later twelfth century, whereas North Street and South Street maintain the same width along their entire length. Brooks and Whittington also observe that, unlike the other two, Market Street fails to extend as far as the cathedral precinct; and they conclude that it was originally intended as a back lane for a two-street town (Fig. 2).<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Brooks and Whittington, 'Planning and growth', 286–7.

Sometimes, pre-existing factors account for the presence of more than one street. Brooks and Whittington argued that both North Street and South Street in St Andrews follow the line of earlier routes converging on the original site of the shrine of Saint Andrew, the Pictish monastery.<sup>29</sup> This may well be so, but it does not explain why it was considered necessary to lay out two streets from the start. The first market place, an extended triangle, was located on North Street, just northwest of the west front of the remains of the high medieval cathedral founded by Bishop Arnold (1160–1162), to the west of the earlier cathedral, now known as St Rule's.<sup>30</sup> It is just this area, around the east end of North Street, which is thought to have been the nucleus of the pre-burghal settlement.<sup>31</sup> Brooks and Whittington characterise both the shape and the location of this market place, in front of the cathedral, as 'archetypal' – which it would certainly be for a burgh with a single-street plan.<sup>32</sup> But this makes the inclusion of South Street from the beginning all the more interesting, since the slow growth of the burgh westwards shows that there was little need for it. Brooks and Whittington speculate that the two-street burgh converging on the site where the new cathedral was begun a few years later suggests that both elements were planned together as 'a single grandiose conception'. This is an attractive idea, but not necessary to the argument that the burgh plan derives from the Borgo.<sup>33</sup>

The question not yet answered is why the founders of St Andrews should want to imitate the Borgo. It could be merely a matter of formal symbolism. We know that the medieval notion of a copy in architectural terms was far looser than ours, and that the mere use of a shape or a significant dimension was enough to evoke the original, and so the fact of having two major, almost-parallel, streets leading up to the cathedral

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<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 292; Peter Yeoman, *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland* (London, 2003), 57, fig. 35, has a map of pilgrimage routes to St Andrews through Fife.

<sup>30</sup> The date of the remains of St Rule's are still disputed; Neil Cameron, 'St Rule's Church, St Andrews, and early stone-built churches in Scotland', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 124 (1994), 367–78, argued that substantial parts are pre-twelfth century; Richard Fawcett, *The Architecture of the Scottish Medieval Church* (New Haven and London, 2011), 13–17, maintains a more conservative interpretation seeing all the remains as part of a replacement rather than an enlargement of the previous church by Bishop Robert (1127–1159).

<sup>31</sup> Hall, 'Pre-burghal St Andrews', 25–6.

<sup>32</sup> Brooks and Whittington, 'Planning and growth', 291.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*; Ronald G. Cant, 'The building of St Andrews cathedral', in *The Medieval Church of St Andrews*, ed. David McRoberts (Glasgow, 1976), 11–32, at 12, makes a similar point.

might have sufficed in the case of the town plan.<sup>34</sup> But there might also have been a functional rationale, in that the two-street plan could have been useful for the management of pilgrim traffic at major celebrations. In the case of Rome, there is remarkably little specific evidence of how pilgrims got around the city. Dante's famous comparison of the crowds passing in opposite directions in the eighth circle of Hell to the two-way system operating on the Ponte S. Angelo in the first Holy Year of 1300 is about all we have.<sup>35</sup> Dante's description is enough, however, to make us realise that, if the majority of pilgrims were heading up the Portica/Porticus S. Petri, it would make sense for those leaving the basilica to head back down the Borgo S. Spirito towards the bridge rather than battle their way against the human tide coming towards them. Although 1300 postdates the planning of St Andrews, it is very probable that there were similar crowds in Rome at times in earlier years, since there is evidence that some sort of Holy Year already existed in Rome by the early twelfth century.<sup>36</sup> Thus, the planners of St Andrews might have been anticipating similar crowds.

We have the first record of a pilgrim to Kinrilmund in 965.<sup>37</sup> A century or so later, traffic had built up enough for Queen Margaret to establish a free ferry for pilgrims across the Firth of Forth;<sup>38</sup> and about

<sup>34</sup> Richard Krautheimer, 'Introduction to an "Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture"', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942), 1–33.

<sup>35</sup> Dante, *Inferno*, Canto XVIII, lines 25–33. Herbert L. Kessler and Johanna Zacharias in *Rome 1300: On the Path of the Pilgrim* (New Haven and London, 2000), 184, refer to crowds in Via del Pellegrino on the opposite bank of the Tiber all going one way, but fail to give a source.

<sup>36</sup> A bull of Pope Alexander III (1159–81), confirming to Santiago the privilege of holding a Holy Year in 1120, specifies that it was to be in the same manner and form as the church of Rome; but this has been seen as a later interpolation, given that the first Jubilee in Rome was in 1300; see Paolo Caucci von Saucken, 'Roma e Santiago di Compostella', in *Romei e Giubilei. Il pellegrinaggio medievale a San Pietro (350–1350)*, ed. Mario D'Onofrio (Milan, 1999), 65–72, at 69. There is, however, a tradition that Boniface VIII met a centenarian whose father had attended a Jubilee in 1200; see Gary Dickson, 'The crowd at the feet of Pope Boniface VIII: pilgrimage, crusade and the first Roman Jubilee (1300)', *Journal of Medieval History* 25 (1999), 279–307, at 292–3.

<sup>37</sup> *Chronicon Scotorum*, s.a. [965.1], 'Aodh mac Maoilmithidh in perigrinatione moritur .i. hi Cind Ri Monaidh' ('Aed mac Máile Mithig dies on pilgrimage, that is, at Cennrígmonaid'), ed. Gearóid Mac Niocaill, published online at [www.ucc.ie/celt/online/G100016/](http://www.ucc.ie/celt/online/G100016/) (accessed 29 April 2013); see also James E. Fraser, 'Rochester, Hexham and Cennrígmonaid: the movements of St Andrew in Britain, 604–747', in *Saints' Cults in the Celtic World*, ed. Steve Boardman, John Reuben Davies and Eila Williamson (Woodbridge, 2009), 1–17, at 4.

<sup>38</sup> For Queen Margaret's ferry, see Turgot, *Vita S. Margaretae Scotorum reginae*, §9, ed. J. H. Hinde, *Symeonis Dunelmensis opera*, Surtees Society 51 (Durham, 1868), 247; trans. Alan Orr Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History, A.D. 500 to 1286*, 2 vols

the same time, the ‘basilica of Saint Andrew the apostle’ was famous enough for a Welsh hagiographer to incorporate it into his *Life of Saint Cadog*.<sup>39</sup> By 1140 there was an official hostel for pilgrims, St Leonard’s.<sup>40</sup>

David McRoberts suggested that North Street and South Street ‘provide a circular route for a grand procession around the town, leaving undisturbed the booths and stalls in Market Street, where later in the day the merchants and itinerant showmen would provide food, trade, and entertainment for the concourse of pilgrims’.<sup>41</sup> McRoberts does not speculate which way the procession would have circulated, but clockwise tends to be more usual, which means pilgrims would approach the cathedral from North Street and leave via South Street. This fits well with the cathedral itself, where the everyday entrance for laity would have been the north door. On major feasts the pilgrims could approach the saint’s shrine in the retrochoir from the north aisle of the nave and leave via the south, exiting perhaps from the usually closed west door to avoid a traffic jam.<sup>42</sup> It is to the cathedral we now turn to see how it too expresses *Romanitas*.

### *St Andrews Cathedral*

The new cathedral, recorded as being founded by Bishop Arnold in 1162, was conceived on a grand scale to be the largest church in Scotland, with a nave originally fourteen bays long, making the length of the whole cathedral about 121.22 m (Fig. 4).<sup>43</sup> Around 1272, however, shortly after completion, the west front collapsed, and when

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(Edinburgh, 1922; repr. with corrections and additions by M. O. Anderson, Stamford, 1990), ii, 77–8.

<sup>39</sup> Lifris of Llancarfan, writing in 1091 × 1104, recounted how Cadog (a supposed contemporary of Maelgwn of Gwynedd, d. 549), made a pilgrimage *ad basilicam sancti Andree apostoli*; *Vita S. Cadoci*, §26, ed. and trans. A. W. Wade-Evans, *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae* (Cardiff, 1944), 24–140; see John Reuben Davies, *The Book of Llandaf and the Norman Church in Wales* (Woodbridge, 2003), 76, for the dating of the text.

<sup>40</sup> For the history of St Leonard’s, see Taylor, *The Place-Names of Fife*, 527–8.

<sup>41</sup> David McRoberts, ‘The Glorious House of St Andrew’, in *Medieval Church of St Andrews*, ed. McRoberts, 63–120, at 101.

<sup>42</sup> Sible de Blaauw (personal communication, Rome, 2012) thinks that the presence of more graffiti on the south (left-hand) side of the passage round St Peter’s *confessio* suggests that the normal circulation route for pilgrims approaching the shrine was clockwise.

<sup>43</sup> On the building of the cathedral, see Eric Cambridge, ‘The early building-history of St Andrews cathedral, Fife, and its context in northern transitional architecture’, *Antiquaries Journal* 57 (1977), 277–88, and Malcolm Thurlby, ‘St Andrews cathedral-priory and the beginnings of Gothic architecture in northern Britain’, in *Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of St Andrews*, ed. John Higgitt (Leeds, 1994), 47–60. See also Fawcett, *The Architecture of the Scottish Medieval Church*, 60–6.



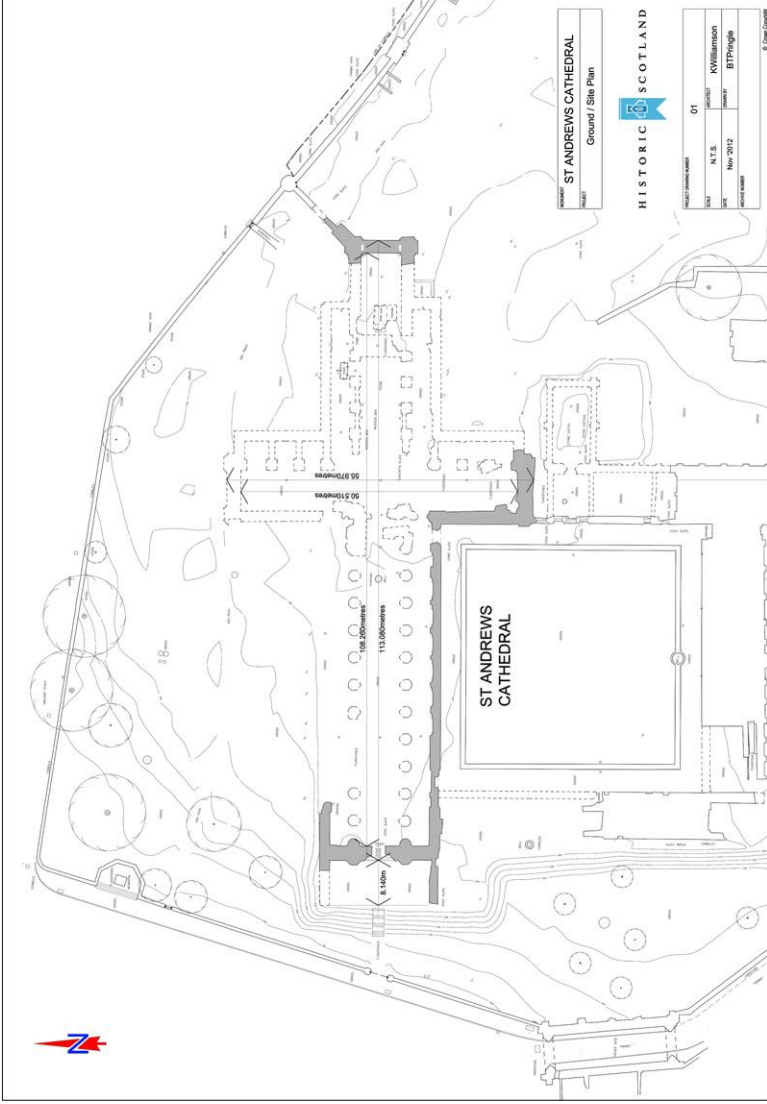


Fig. 4 St Andrews cathedral plan (© Crown Copyright Historic Scotland, reproduced courtesy of Historic Scotland [www.historicscotlandimages.gov.uk](http://www.historicscotlandimages.gov.uk)).

rebuilt, the nave was reduced to twelve bays, making the present overall length 113.08 m. Even in its truncated and ruined post-Reformation state, it was (and is) still impressive, as John Slezer (d. 1717) testified. Slezer published the first printed collection of views of Scottish towns and antiquities, *Theatrum Scotiae*, in 1693.<sup>44</sup> He was responsible for the 57 engravings, with accompanying commentaries, originally intended to be in Latin by Sir Robert Sibbald (1641–1722), but eventually published in English based on Sibbald's drafts without acknowledgement.<sup>45</sup> The preface, titled 'To the Reader', makes the startling claim that,

the Metropolitan Church of St. *Andrews* was probably the biggest in *Christendom*, being Seven Foot longer and Two Foot broader than that of St. *Peter* at *Rome*; and for the Heighth and Embellishing of its Pillars and Roof, the Beauty of its Stones, and Simetry of its parts, was one of the best of the *Gothick* kind in the World.<sup>46</sup>

One can easily demonstrate that St Andrews cathedral is not the largest in Europe: several medieval English cathedrals are longer, and many French cathedrals are higher. One might be inclined then to put the hyperbole of *Theatrum Scotiae* down to patriotic sentiment; except that Slezer was a military engineer, described by a contemporary as a 'high German' and, one assumes, acquainted with at least a few buildings between Germany and Scotland, some of which are not unimpressive. Slezer does, however, make very specific comparisons with St Peter's: that it was seven feet longer and two feet wider. We do not know which foot Slezer was using, but if it was the contemporary Scottish foot (30.5287 cm), the differences translate to 2.14 m longer and 61 cm wider.<sup>47</sup> The external length of Old St Peter's, taken from the end wall of the nave to the back of the apse, is estimated to have

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<sup>44</sup> John Slezer, *Theatrum Scotiae* (London, 1693).

<sup>45</sup> On the text, see Keith Cavers, *A Vision of Scotland: The Nation Observed by John Slezer 1671 to 1717* (Edinburgh, 1993), 12; on Sibbald, see Charles W. J. Withers, 'Sibbald, Sir Robert (1641–1722)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, May 2006, online at [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25496](http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25496) (accessed 1 March 2012).

<sup>46</sup> Slezer, *Theatrum Scotiae*, 'To the Reader' (a).

<sup>47</sup> Scottish Archive Network, 'Scottish weights and measures: distance and area', online at [www.scan.org.uk/measures/distance.asp](http://www.scan.org.uk/measures/distance.asp) (accessed 27 February 2012). R. D. Connor and A. D. C. Simpson, *Weights and Measures in Scotland: A European perspective*, ed. A. D. Morrison-Low (Edinburgh, 2004), 555, give the length of the foot on the official 1663 Edinburgh measure of the ell as 30.55 cm, but all measures in the book are rounded up or down to 0.5 mm.

been 121.45 m, while the external width across the nave and aisles was about 63.70 m.<sup>48</sup> As we have already said, the original overall length of St Andrews was around 121.22 m (Fig. 4). The 23 cm difference is small enough to make the correspondence look too close to be the product of chance. On the other hand, the breadth of St Andrews cathedral, even at its widest point across the transepts, is only 55.97 m, far less than the 63.70 m width of Old St Peter's nave, so that this dimension cannot have been modelled on the Vatican Basilica. Instead, we find that the 55.97 m of St Andrews is very close to the width of the nave of the Lateran Basilica (55.22 m), the cathedral of Rome. Indeed the 59 cm difference approximates to two (ancient Roman) feet ( $2 \times 29.6$  cm), which is exactly what Slezer claims. And so it could be argued that St Andrews Cathedral was deliberately designed to emulate the two most prestigious churches in western Christendom by mimicking a combination of their dimensions: the length of St Peter's and the width of St John Lateran.<sup>49</sup> This raises three questions: first, about how Slezer knew the dimensions of the Roman basilicas; second, about how the designers of St Andrews Cathedral knew them; and third, about the intention in emulating St Peter's and the Lateran.

The first question seems unanswerable. It is difficult to imagine that anyone in the Scotland of 1693 would be interested enough in this neglected relic of Catholicism to be measuring Roman churches just after the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688 had ousted the last Catholic king of Scotland and England, James VII and II. But Slezer's project was already in progress as early as 1678, and can be seen in the context of James's patronage of all kinds of learning in Scotland, while and after he was resident in Edinburgh, as duke of Albany and York, from

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<sup>48</sup> Calculated from the plan in Turpin C. Bannister, 'The Constantinian basilica of Saint Peter at Rome', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 27 (1968), 3–32, at 12 (fig. 14).

<sup>49</sup> Thurlby, 'St Andrews Cathedral-Priory', 52, already proposed that St Peter's might be the inspiration for the extreme length, citing the suggestions that the dimensions of Ely Cathedral echo those of S. Paolo fuori le Mura (Eric Fernie, 'Observations on the Norman plan of Ely Cathedral', in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Ely Cathedral* [ed. Nicola Coldstream and Peter Draper] (Leeds, 1979), 1–7) and that those at Winchester were taken from St Peter's (Richard Gem, 'The Romanesque Cathedral of Winchester: patron and design in the eleventh century', in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Winchester Cathedral* [ed. T. A. Heslop and V. A. Sekules] (Leeds, 1983), 13–19). The third abbey church at Cluny, begun in 1088, which matches Old St Peter's in length, was measured in Roman feet, the use of which had been revived at Montecassino during the abbacy of Desiderius (1066–75); see Anne Baud, *Cluny: un grand chantier médiéval au coeur de l'Europe* (Paris, 2003), 172–3; Kenneth John Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture*, 4th edn (Harmondsworth, 1978), 199.

1679 to 1682.<sup>50</sup> It seems likely that the information would have come from a pre-Reformation source transmitted to Slezer. Sibbald, with his antiquarian interests, would have been a possible channel, but there is nothing in his drafts for the commentary on *Theatrum Scotiae* to suggest he had knowledge.<sup>51</sup> Nor are there any hints of a comparison with St Peter's in the various versions of Scottish chronicles and histories, written in the middle ages and Renaissance, which continued to be read in late-seventeenth-century Scotland. So the source of this arcane tradition must, for the moment, remain unknown.

The second question is impossible to answer definitively, but it seems reasonable to assume the information on the size of the Roman churches was acquired by a Scottish cleric visiting the Holy See some time before the foundation of the new cathedral in 1162, although the idea may already have been conceived by the previous bishop, Robert (1124–1159).<sup>52</sup> We have a perfect candidate in the person of William, bishop of Moray, who was sent to Rome soon after Bishop Robert's death. He returned to Scotland in 1160 with legatine powers, which he was to pass on to whomever was elected the new bishop of St Andrews, with the strong backing of Pope Alexander III that it should be William himself. In the event the abbot of Kelso, Arnold, was elected, but William could easily have found out the measurements of the Vatican and Lateran basilicas in preparation for the founding of what he hoped would be his new cathedral.<sup>53</sup>

The reason for William's visit to Rome, and the answer to the third question, was almost certainly to press the case for making St Andrews a metropolitan see in order to resist the claim of the archbishops of York to take control of the Scottish church. Their claim was based on Gregory the Great's instructions to St Augustine of Canterbury in 601 to set up two metropolitan sees in what had been the two major cities of

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<sup>50</sup> Cavers, *A Vision of Scotland*, 3; Hugh Ouston, 'York in Edinburgh: James VII and the patronage of learning in Scotland, 1679–88', in *New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland*, ed. John Dwyer, Roger A. Mason and Alexander Murdoch (Edinburgh, 1982), 133–55, at 136.

<sup>51</sup> Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS. Adv. 33.3.22.

<sup>52</sup> Cambridge, 'Early building-history', 280–1, has speculated that perhaps the footings began to be laid in the late 1150s and that 1162 saw the official laying of the foundation stone.

<sup>53</sup> D. E. R. Watt, *Medieval Church Councils in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2001), 19–20. A twelfth-century Life of Saint Petronius of Bologna (died c. 445) relates that in constructing the monastery of S. Stefano in Bologna, he copied the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and that he had measured everything accurately with a measuring-rod during a stay in the Holy Land ('Vita auctore anonymo ex Chronico monachorum S. Stephani Bononi', in *Acta Sanctorum*, October vol. 2, ed. Constantinus Suyskeno, Cornelius Byeo, Jacobus Bueo, Josephus Ghesquiero (Antwerp, 1768), 459).

Roman *Britannia*, London and York. The Roman province did not extend for any length of time beyond Hadrian's Wall, but in the aftermath of the Norman Conquest of England in 1066 the archbishops of York interpreted *Britannia* to mean the whole island now known as Great Britain, 'even to the utmost edges of Scotland' (*usque ad extremos Scotiae fines*).<sup>54</sup> The Scottish Church and crown resisted such claims vigorously and one bishop of St Andrews around 1100 was already styling himself archbishop without papal sanction – a claim that David I first pursued in 1125.<sup>55</sup>

A large part of the Scottish argument rested on the possession of corporeal relics believed to belong to Saint Andrew. How they came to be there is not known, but the earliest suggestion of their presence relates to the mid-tenth century and the Irish pilgrim who died at Kinrimund, which eventually in the twelfth century is renamed 'St Andrews'.<sup>56</sup> One theory, proposed by W. F. Skene, is that they were brought from Hexham in Northumbria, by an exiled Anglo-Saxon bishop, Acca.<sup>57</sup> The church at Hexham, which was built by Saint Wilfrid, who visited Rome several times, was dedicated to Saint Andrew.<sup>58</sup> There is no evidence, however, that there were corporeal relics of the apostle in Rome before his head (or rather part of it) arrived in 1460, and the moving of corporeal relics was rarely countenanced in the west before the ninth century.<sup>59</sup> Saint Jerome tells us that Andrew's body was moved to Constantinople by the emperor Constantius II (337–361) to the church of the Holy Apostles, to which the mausoleum of Constantine and his family was attached.<sup>60</sup> Gregory the Great visited the tomb of St Andrew while resident in Constantinople between 579 and 586, and later dedicated his monastery on the Caelian Hill in Rome

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<sup>54</sup> Watt, *Medieval Church Councils*, 12.

<sup>55</sup> Dauvit Broun, *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain from the Picts to Alexander III* (Edinburgh, 2007), 111–14.

<sup>56</sup> See note 37, above; and Ursula Hall, *St Andrew and Scotland* (St Andrews, 1994), 66 and 89.

<sup>57</sup> William F. Skene, 'Notice of the early ecclesiastical settlements at St Andrews', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 4 (1860–2), 300–21, at 312–15; William F. Skene, *Celtic Scotland: A History of Ancient Alban*, 3 vols, 2nd edn (Edinburgh, 1886–90), ii, 261–75.

<sup>58</sup> Hall, *St Andrew*, 64–5; Fraser, 'Rochester, Hexham and Cennrígmonaid', 6–7.

<sup>59</sup> Hall, *St Andrew*, 76; Ruth Olitsky Rubinstein, 'Pius II's Piazza S. Pietro and St. Andrew's head', in *Essays in the History of Architecture Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, ed. Douglas Fraser, Howard Hibbard and Milton J. Lewine, 2 vols (London, 1967), i, 22–33.

<sup>60</sup> Jerome, *Adversus Vigilantium*, 5, ed. J.-L. Feiertag, *S. Hieronymi Presbyteri opera. Opera III. Opera polemica 5. Adversus Vigilantium*, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 79C (Turnhout, 2005), 12; see Hall, *St Andrew*, 27.



to the saint, but any relics he brought back were probably *brandea*, that is, contact-relics.<sup>61</sup>

To try to account for the known presence of the body in Constantinople and the presence of the bones in Scotland, a foundation legend arose, which survives in two discrete versions, known simply as Version A and Version B.<sup>62</sup> Both versions of the St Andrews foundation legend, as they stand, belong to the first half of the twelfth century, but Version B purports to have its origins in the ninth century. The two versions agree that the Scottish bones were separated from the rest of Saint Andrew's remains by a bishop or abbot called Regulus, who in Version A is a guardian of the apostle's body in Constantinople. Regulus is guided by an angel to sail west, eventually landing at a headland named 'Rymont' (*Rigmund*, Version A) or 'Kilrymont' (*Chilrimonith*, Version B), that is, Kinrimund (St Andrews), within the realm of a Pictish king called Hungus, son of Forso. In Version B events are placed in AD 345, during the reign of the emperor Constantius II, but they are a century later in Version A, during the reign of Theodosius II; the King Hungus referred to, however, lived in the ninth century.<sup>63</sup> King Hungus, meanwhile, had received guidance from a vision of Saint Andrew helping him gain victory over either the Britons (Version A) or the Saxons (Version B). In Version A, Hungus is instructed to send his army in the direction of a cross in the sky – a clear echo of the story of Constantine's dream before the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312. In gratitude, the king grants Regulus the land on the headland on which the future cathedral was built, and extensive possessions elsewhere in his kingdom. In later versions of the story of Regulus, Hungus and his subjects are baptised by him, but in both versions of the foundation legend they appear to be already Christian.<sup>64</sup>

After Andrew's body was translated to Constantinople, its presence had been used to bolster the status of the city's patriarchs in relation to those of others that could claim apostolic founders or similar, namely, Antioch, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Rome. That the bishops of St Andrews were trying to use his relics in just the same way is

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<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 36–7.

<sup>62</sup> Version A of the St Andrews foundation legend is best edited by Marjorie O. Anderson in *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland*, revised edn (Edinburgh, 1980; first edn 1973), 258–60, but for important additions see Dauvit Broun, 'The church of St Andrews and its foundation legend in the early twelfth century: recovering the full text of Version A of the foundation legend', in *Kings, Clerics and Chronicles in Scotland 500–1297*, ed. Simon Taylor (Dublin, 2000), 108–14; Version B of the foundation legend is edited and translated, with discussion and notes, by Simon Taylor in *The Place-Names of Fife*, 564–600.

<sup>63</sup> See Anderson, *Early Sources*, i, 267.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

demonstrated by Version A of the foundation legend. There we read that the consequence of having his relics there mean that,

the archiepiscopacy of all Scotia should be exercised from this city where the apostolic see is [and] no bishop ought to be ordained in Scotia without the approval of the elders of this place. For in relation to the first Rome this is the second. This is the preeminent city of refuge. This is the city of cities of Scotia.<sup>65</sup>

Here the reason why the cathedral appears to be imitating, or rather rivalling, the two principal churches of Rome is made explicit. St Andrews was claiming to be an apostolic see: a second Rome, no less. The idea that St Andrews was the counterpart to Rome was therefore clearly spelled out in the twelfth century.

Outside Italy, the only other place in western Europe which could boast the relics of an apostle was Compostela: and the comparison is instructive, since the development of Compostela shows some remarkable parallels to St Andrews.

### *Santiago de Compostela*

The earliest reference to the remains of Saint James the Great at Compostela goes back to the early ninth century.<sup>66</sup> Among the explanations for their presence was one that Saint James had evangelised Galicia while alive but returned to Jerusalem where he was martyred about AD 45. His body was brought back by two of his disciples, the ship docking at Iría, a port sixteen miles to the south, which later became the seat of a bishop and was renamed Padrón. The finding of the relics led to the relocation of the cathedral to Compostela around 860. From the mid-eleventh century, its bishops, especially Diego Gelmírez, bishop from 1100, used the relics to claim theirs was an apostolic see, and argued for the independence of the church of the

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<sup>65</sup> This portion survives in London, British Library, MS. Arundel 36 and MS. Cotton Tiberius D iii, and is transcribed and translated by Broun in 'The church of St Andrews', 111: 'Ex hac itaque ciuitate esse archiepiscopatus debet tocius Scotiae, ubi apostolica sedes est; nect abasque consilio seniorum istius loci ullus episcopus in Scotia debet ordinari. Hec est enim Roma secunda a prima. Hec est ciuitas refugii precipua. Hec est ciuitas ciuitatum Scotie'. This additional text was printed by Archbishop Ussher in the seventeenth century but he did not give his immediate source: James Ussher, *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates* (Dublin, 1639), 651.

<sup>66</sup> R. A. Fletcher, *St James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela* (Oxford, 1984), 57; Robert Plötz, 'Traditiones Hispanicae beati Jacobi: les origines du culte de saint Jacques à Compostela', in *Santiago de Compostela: 1000 ans de pèlerinage européen* [ed. Luis González Seara and Herman Liebaers], *Europalia 85 España* ([Ghent, 1985]), 27–39; Plötz, 'Peregrinatio ad Limina Sancti Jacobi', in *The Codex Calixtinus and the Shrine of St. James*, ed. John Williams and Alison Stones (Tübingen, 1992), 37–49.

Christian Asturian kingdom from the metropolitan archbishopric of Toledo, which was under Moorish control.<sup>67</sup> In 1095 Pope Urban II (1088–1099), put the diocese directly under the protection of the Holy See and renamed it in honour of Saint James.<sup>68</sup> In 1120, Pope Calixtus II (1119–1124) finally raised it to metropolitan status, and granted the privilege of holding a Holy Year, allowing a pilgrimage to the *Civitas Sancti Jacobi* (the city of St James or Santiago) the same status as one to Rome or Jerusalem.<sup>69</sup> There was, moreover, a conscious attempt even before the twelfth century to emulate Rome in aspects of Compostela's liturgy, organisation, the dress of the cathedral chapter (with canons called cardinals), chapel dedications in the new cathedral, and the dedication of churches in the town.<sup>70</sup> Critically for our argument it appears that its town plan was consciously modelled on that of the Vatican Borgo. Originally there was a small lay settlement, the *villa*, clustered round the ninth-century shrine. Gradually the settlement spread south, with two streets running parallel from the cathedral to meet the main road which ran from Iría to the south, the Rua de Vilar and the *Vicus Francorum* ('Road of the Franks').<sup>71</sup> During the episcopate of Bishop Cresconio (1037–1066), this enlarged settlement was enclosed within walls, and in a document of 1105, when it became a *municipium* (a market town or burgh), the existing settlement is called the *villa burgensis*.<sup>72</sup> While this already sounds like the Borgo, by the early twelfth century, a third parallel street had been created to the east, the *Vicus Novus* ('New Street').<sup>73</sup> This might be thought to invalidate the comparison with St Andrews but, in fact, the outer two streets, the *Vicus Novus* and *Vicus Francorum*, rapidly became the two principal streets.<sup>74</sup> The parallels with St Andrews are so striking that one wonders if the bishops of the Scottish see were consciously following in the footsteps of those of Compostela.

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<sup>67</sup> Fernando López Alsina, 'Santiago', in *Il mondo dei pellegrinaggi. Roma, Santiago, Gerusalemme*, ed. Paolo Caucci von Saucken (Milan, 1999), 299–320, at 313–14; Fletcher, *St James's Catapult*, 196.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 199; López Alsina, 'Santiago', 313.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 313–14; Fletcher, *St James's Catapult*, 169.

<sup>71</sup> Fernando López Alsina, *La ciudad de Santiago de Compostela en la alta Edad Media* (Santiago de Compostela, 1988), 194–5, 256–7.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 145.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 256–7; Fernando López Alsina, 'Compostelle, ville de Saint-Jacques', in *Santiago de Compostela* [ed. González Seara and Liebaers], 53–60; Arturo Franco Taboada, *Los orígenes de Compostela: una historia dibujada* (La Coruña, 1987), 52.

<sup>74</sup> E. A. Gutkind, *International History of City Development*, 8 vols (New York, 1964–72), iii, 344.

St Andrews fared less well, never achieving the popularity of Santiago, which along with Rome, Cologne, and Canterbury, was decreed one of the four major western European pilgrimage destinations, by the famous French inquisitor, Bernard Gui (1261/2–1331).<sup>75</sup> English pressure prevented its bishops from achieving metropolitan status until 1472, and no special privileges were gained for pilgrims to St Andrews. We lack any information about numbers visiting the shrine, but one suspects some potential pilgrims were lured away by the quantity of reported miracles at the shrine of Saint Thomas Becket (canonised in 1174) at Canterbury.<sup>76</sup> Another blow must have been the arrival of the rest of the relics of St Andrew at Amalfi, following the sack of Constantinople in 1204 during the Fourth Crusade. In 1508, we have a record of a Scottish pilgrim going to Amalfi ‘to visit St Andrew’s grave’.<sup>77</sup> Nevertheless, the small Marian shrine of Whitekirk in East Lothian (to which Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, the future Pope Pius II, walked barefoot in 1435 in thanks for surviving a storm) is said to have had over 15,000 pilgrims in the year 1413.<sup>78</sup> As Whitekirk is only a few kilometres south of North Berwick, the southern end of one of the main ferry routes to St Andrews, it is likely that a large proportion of these 15,000 would have been on their way to or back from venerating the apostle’s relics, and others would have come from the north and west of Scotland and from across the North Sea.<sup>79</sup> Averaged out over a year, the numbers might not seem impressive, but, they would, of course, have been concentrated around major feast days, and so one can imagine that sometimes the cathedral was thronged with pilgrims, justifying its size.

Within a century, however, the paucity of pilgrims to St Andrews was used as an excuse for converting the old pilgrims’ hostel into the third college of the university, St Leonard’s.<sup>80</sup> The last time we have a report of someone visiting the relics is 1553; Marcus Wagner, the agent

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<sup>75</sup> Bernard Gui, *Practica inquisitionis heretice pravitatis*, ed. Célestin Douais (Paris, 1886), 37.

<sup>76</sup> Diana Webb, however, has discussed evidence for Dutch and Flemish pilgrimage to St Andrews; nine Flemish towns had St Andrews as a destination on their lists of pilgrimage destinations as punishments for crimes, whereas only eight list Canterbury; see *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (London, 2001), 60–1, 216, 226.

<sup>77</sup> *Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum. The Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland. Vol. I. A.D. 1488–1529*, ed. M. Livingstone (Edinburgh, 1908), 235, no. 1606.

<sup>78</sup> See P. Hume Brown, *Early Travellers in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1891), 25; Mark Hall, ‘Wo/men only? Marian devotion in medieval Perth’, in *The Cult of the Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland*, ed. Steve Boardman and Eila Williamson (Woodbridge, 2010), 105–24, at 120.

<sup>79</sup> On the routes, see Yeoman, *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland*, 54–62.

<sup>80</sup> McRoberts, ‘Glorious House’, 102.

of the Lutheran Matthias Flacius Illyricus, who taught at Wittenberg, posed as a pilgrim, and in so doing acquired some of the few manuscripts to have survived the Scottish Reformation, now preserved in Wolfenbüttel, the most important being the famous St Andrews Music Book.<sup>81</sup> We should be grateful to him, but it seems an inglorious end to the centuries of pilgrimages to the 'Glorious House of St Andrew',<sup>82</sup> built to rival St Peter's itself. Only the gaunt ruins of the cathedral and the grandiose town plan now survive as a reminder of the bishops of St Andrews' ambitions to create a northern Rome, centuries before Edinburgh became the Athens of the North.

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<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 96.

<sup>82</sup> Prior James Haldenstone's description in 1418, cited *ibid.*, 63.